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The theory that he was, on the other hand, acting as the sincere champion and protector of Protestantism has found equally strong advocates. Between these views it is hard to decide, since, as M. Pariset points out, this would involve a knowledge of the inner workings of the mind of a king who certainly never clearly distinguished between interest and duty.

It would be difficult to imagine a more thorough and searching study of the institutions of the church, the relations of consistories, clergy and laity, the work of pastors, the church revenues, and the authority of the church as a part of the state machinery, than is here presented. If the author has read all the acts and decrees which he summarizes in the seventy-eight pages of an appendix, he is certainly entitled to speak with authority. This is but one of the many mechanical excellences of the work, some others being a well-arranged index and a thoroughly satisfactory table of contents. We have become so accustomed to the lack of these in French historical works that we are prepared to appreciate them when they do appear.

ULYSSES G. WEATHERLY.

*Life of Napoleon Bonaparte.* By WILLIAM MILLIGAN SLOANE, Ph.D., L.H.D., Professor of History in Princeton [Columbia] University. (New York: The Century Co. 1896, 1897. Four vols., pp. xvi, 283; xii, 283; xii, 270; xii, 313.)

DURING the last twenty-five years many Continental scholars have been concentrating their attention upon the period of the French Revolution, and upon the life and times of Napoleon Bonaparte; and by their researches, their publications of official documents, letters, memoirs and diplomatic correspondence, have rendered thrice antiquated any work written upon the subject before this exceptional historical activity began. So minute, however, has been the specialization, so detailed the research, so eager has the investigator been to analyze the motives of particular men or the nature of particular movements, that thus far there has been a woe-ful neglect of the interests of the general reader, particularly him who gets his information from works in English only.

This is not surprising. The task of digesting and co-ordinating this great mass of material with regard to accuracy, conciseness and literary style, is one from which the majority of scholars might well shrink in dismay. For this reason no adequate life of Napoleon has hitherto been written. The only elaborate study, that of Lanfrey, which was begun thirty years ago, was left unfinished by the death of the author in 1877. Conceived as it was for the purpose of destroying the Napoleonic legend by a free use of the recently published Napoleonic correspondence, its spirit is hostile to the Emperor; and as it was written at a time when little attempt had been made to investigate scientifically the events of the Emperor's career, it is deficient in details. Some writers, like Barni, Seeley and Ropes, have produced only brief sketches; others, like O'Connor Morris and Baring-Gould, whose historical writings it is often

difficult to take seriously, have produced works with little pretence to scholarship ; and Fournier, the Austrian deputy, who has written a very able and interesting biography, which for breadth, accuracy and insight will long remain the best introduction to the subject, has written briefly and simply for popular instruction without any attempt at elaborate discussion.

Professor Sloane has, therefore, an admirable opportunity to write a life of Napoleon of reasonable length which shall be, as he has himself stated, a sober statement of facts and not a mass of attributed motives and fictitious details. He had approached the subject as a trained American scholar free from the prejudices of Continental and English students, ready to weigh the evidence, to discover the truth, and to present it clearly and intelligently. He has equipped himself with a thorough knowledge of the literature of the subject, and has made himself familiar with the scenes of the events he narrates, and with the characteristics of the nation with whom he has chiefly to deal. He has likewise a sense of the larger aspects of the subject and appreciates the relation of the career of Napoleon to general history. Aware of these qualifications of our author, we are prepared for work of a high order of merit ; and in this respect we are not disappointed. Professor Sloane has given us a history that is both accurate and scholarly ; he has pictured familiar phases of Napoleon's career with freshness and vigor ; he has portrayed with discrimination and skill many sides of Napoleon's activity and character hitherto little known ; while to his work as a whole he has given due balance, and has preserved a good proportion in the space allotted to the various parts of his subject. From the point of view of accuracy, fairness and completeness, he has produced a biography of Napoleon that is far superior to any of the more elaborate works that have appeared from Jomini to Lanfrey.

The opening chapters, which treat of Napoleon's boyhood and youth, are by reason of the very obscurity which has hitherto hung over this period of Napoleon's life, the most valuable portion of the work. By piecing together with very considerable skill the evidence of all kinds that has been gathered, notably by Böhlingk and Iung, Professor Sloane has succeeded in giving an orderly account of a remarkable period in a great career. He shows the solitude of boyhood and the unshaped ambitions of youth ; the friendships "not with social equals whom he despised, but with the lowly whom he understood." He discusses Napoleon's career as a Corsican Jacobin, his neglect of his profession as a soldier, his failure as an author and politician. He shows that the youth, unscrupulous, and apparently without principle, embittered by his experiences, and already "a citizen of the world and a man without a country," because "Corsica repelled him and France never adopted him," was during these years passing through a period of self-education and self-discipline which developed his natural abilities and prepared him for his future work. And he leads us forward to the transformation of the man after Toulon, when his "shiftiness" and recklessness gave place to a concentration of purpose, which culminated four years afterward in the exhibi-

tion of military genius that established his reputation in France, and made permanent his military fame.

From this point Professor Sloane presents Napoleon to us in three aspects: as general, as diplomat, and as statesman. Decidedly the weakest and least satisfactory part of this presentation is his study of Napoleon's diplomacy; in his recital of battles, though he fails signally in the description of Trafalgar, he is more successful; while he is almost without exception admirable in his account of the reformation and reorganization of France. The chapters which give Professor Sloane at his best are those which treat of Napoleon as First Consul, when in 1799 and 1800 he restored to France order, credit, and peace (II., Chap. XII), and in 1801 reformed the social condition of the country, codified the law, and encouraged letters, industry, the arts, and public works (II., Chaps. XIX, XX); and when, as Emperor of the West after Tilsit, he strove to make the prosperity of France commensurate with his own greatness, and, throwing off the mask of republican forms, established a new feudal hierarchy (III., Chaps. VII, VIII). Our author's version of the expedition to Egypt, the erection of the Confederation of the Rhine, the treatment of Prussia after Jena, the national uprising in Spain and Prussia, the meeting of Alexander and Napoleon at Erfurt, and the Emperor's abdication, is vivid, realistic, and at times brilliant.

In the main Professor Sloane preserves an attitude of strict impartiality, making no effort to pass final judgment except in estimating without prejudice what Napoleon did for others or against them, leaving his sins against himself "to be told as an awful warning and then to be left for the Great Tribunal." But in his analysis of the causes which after 1813 led to the downfall of the Emperor are certain conclusions to which exception may be taken. Professor Sloane justly lays stress upon the Emperor's decline as a strategist. "Great as Napoleon was," he says, "he was supremely great as a strategist. . . . As to conception and tactics there never was a failure—the year 1814 is the wonder year of his theoretical genius; but after Dresden there is continuous failure in the practical combination of concept and means, in other words, of strategic mastery" (IV. 62). Then, too, he lays exceptional stress upon the decline of the Emperor's health. He says that as early as the opening of the Russian campaign "the gradual change which had been going on in Napoleon's physique was complete. He was now plethoric and slow in all his movements. Occasionally there were exhibitions of quickened sensibilities which have been interpreted as symptoms of an irregular epilepsy; but in general his senses like his expression were dull. He had premonitions of a painful disease (dysuria) which soon developed fully. His lassitude was noticeable and when he roused himself it was often for trivialities" (III. 252). The progress of this disease Professor Sloane follows most interestingly until after Waterloo, when Napoleon rode away "with his eyes set, his frame collapsed, his great head rolling from side to side." The impression left on the reader's mind is that Napoleon's downfall was due to physical disability and de-

cline in generalship, and that had he retained the powers of his earlier years he would have saved himself from ruin. This conclusion is borne out by the following: "Napoleon's pre-eminence lasted just as long as this effective personal supremacy continued. When his faculties ceased to perform their continuous, unceasing task he began to decline. Ruin was the consequence of feebleness" (IV. 232).

In this account Professor Sloane has neglected the pre-eminent cause for Napoleon's downfall—the union of Europe against him. The whole bearing of our author's discussion from the close of the Moscow campaign is to magnify the importance of the decline of Napoleon's strategical and physical strength, and to minimize the importance of a growing unity among the allies. From this time he is a defender of Napoleon. He presents him as a guileless man caught in the trap of the Austrian marriage, as a man sincere in his professions of peace, a protector of nationality, never blameworthy, only mistaken or self-deceived. For the allies, the monarchs Francis, Alexander and Frederick William, for all connected with the Emperor's overthrow, he has no words of praise; all, he says, were selfish, seeking merely their dynastic interests, constantly blundering, desiring the downfall of Napoleon only that they might restore absolutism. It seems hardly in place for the biographer, who has presented Bonaparte's treatment of Venice in terms rather of admiration for his daring than of condemnation for his duplicity, to score the allies at this period for broken treaties, selfish double-dealing, and disregard of national movements; or to denounce them for doubting Napoleon's sincerity or hesitating to conclude a peace which would leave him master in half of Europe; or to imply that, in declaring Napoleon an outlaw after his return from Elba, they were guilty of an outrage upon humanity. Professor Sloane seems in no way affected by Napoleon's own absolutism, selfishness, and dynastic interests, by his offences against Europe, and his disregard of the rights of states or of the rights of a nation. He does not credit the allies with a sincerity in their belief that only by the overthrow of the Emperor might peace come to Europe; he interprets their conduct in the light of the Holy Alliance, and so reads his history backwards. In these chapters Professor Sloane is pleading as a national liberal against dynastic absolutism, and in this instance has ceased to be impartial.

Thus far we have examined this work as a scholarly production without special claims to popularity; but the fact that it has been issued in popular form as a work for the reading public demands a further examination of its treatment, style, and setting.

As regards treatment, Professor Sloane is stronger in his powers of description than in his powers of analysis. He is much more successful in his account of striking scenes, of important institutions, of great social changes, where the object described has a certain natural simplicity and organic unity, than in his account of situations which by virtue of many actors and many policies are naturally complicated. In his study of the Continental System, of the diplomacy preceding the treaty of Tilsit, of

that preceding the Austrian uprising of 1809, and above all else in his study of the negotiations leading up to the formation of the Fourth Coalition (1813), he is confusing, obscure and difficult to follow. At times we fear that the reader will find himself hopelessly entangled in a labyrinth of fact and statement with no clue to the way of escape. This is due partly to bad transitions, in which there is no regard for the principle of causal connection of ideas; partly to a lack of those larger generalizations, summaries, résumés and suggestive comments which throw light upon a period and make it intelligible to the general reader. It is more than likely, however, that the reading public would not be troubled by such omissions if only Professor Sloane had made his work more interesting by putting more color and more romance into his pages; but of color there is little, of romance none, all is sober statement of fact. The pity of it is that the general reader will be tempted to turn from this truly admirable work, and if he does not go back to his Hazlitt or John S. C. Abbott, will doubtless take up the interesting but superficial biography of Baring-Gould.

These defects of treatment are made rather more noticeable by a style, which though often polished and forcible, is nevertheless lacking in charm and simplicity. It is hard and artificial, possessing little to tempt or allure, often giving up its meaning only after a second reading; erring in the use of metaphors that are so realistic as seriously to disturb the continuity of thought; and in the use of words that are unnecessarily ponderous and obscure. Professor Sloane's vocabulary ranges from such colloquialisms as "slack joints," "huckstering," "pull through with a whole skin," "hoodwink," "ingredients of a queer hodgepodge," "making a mess," "plumply," "flabby," "puffy," "blabbed," "nick of time," and the like, to such words as "symptomatic," "riposte," "ichor," "amorphous," "atrophy," "velleities" and such combinations as "interstitial sentimentality," "ubiquitous enthusiasm," "occasional divagations," "superserviceable Mephistopheles," and to such phrases as "a people sowed with a cruel and bloody past," "a case-hardened population," "a pregnant step," "a solid foundation of a permanent organic life," etc. Such a style as this can never become popular.

The reader may well ask why such a work, possessing so few claims to popularity, so many claims upon the attention of the serious student, has been issued in a form so elaborate and expensive as to keep it out of the hands of those who would chiefly desire it. Four large heavy volumes, sumptuously bound in red and green, printed on heavy paper in an *édition de luxe* type, and filled with nearly three hundred illustrations, more than half of which are purely imaginative, form a strange setting for a work of scholarship. To those most likely to buy it the work will be chiefly attractive as a portfolio of paintings. Between text and illustrations there is little or no connection. Some of the illustrations face the proper page, the majority do not, and a few unfortunate pictures are fifty pages more or less away from the place where they rightly belong.

Some of them are not referred to in the text at all. At least in one instance text and illustration differ, in two instances the text declares the subject of the illustration to be half fabulous. The sin against the historical sense is considerably increased by the fact that many of the illustrations were made to order by artists employed by the publishers.

But the chief grievance of the student is the omission of footnotes and references, due to the wishes of the publishers, "in deference," as Professor Sloane confesses, "to what seems to be the present taste of the reading public." In a life of Napoleon that claims to be in part based on original investigation by the author and for the remaining part on the results of the most recent research, this omission is unpardonable. Nor is the bibliography at the end of the fourth volume a recompense; for such a general bibliography in a work of this kind is not of the slightest use to the reading public, and its alphabetical arrangement injures its value for students. A bibliography of the life and times of Napoleon that is not arranged by periods or subjects, with critical comments and explanations, is no better than a section of a card-catalogue. Professor Sloane might well have taken Fournier for his model, and in giving to his bibliography a scientific arrangement have made up to students in some degree for the sins of his publishers.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*Souvenirs d'un Historien de Napoléon. Mémorial de J. de Norvins*, publié avec un avertissement et des notes par L. DE LANZAC DE LABORIE, (1768-1810). (Paris : E. Plon, Nourrit et Cie. 1896, 1897. Three vols., pp. xxxvi, 436 ; 418 ; 356.)

THERE have been many writers whose fame is assured not by the books written for publication on which they based their claims to the recognition of their contemporaries and of posterity, but by comparatively careless reminiscences composed in old age telling of the things that they had seen and the deeds that they had done. Norvins is one of these. Though a voluminous author in his time and one who wrote well on many subjects, his literary fame has long passed away. His *Histoire de Napoléon* was an immensely successful book in its day and is said to have passed through twenty-two editions within a few years after its publication. But it is now relegated to the category of books which lie on the stall of the open-air second-hand book-seller on the *quais* of Paris and which only the indiscriminating book-buyer dares to purchase. And in truth, it deserves its fate. Written as it was by an ardent admirer of Napoleon, without any historical sense or historical training, it never had any value as a history, but served rather to fan the growing wave of Napoleon-worship which eventually placed the nephew of the great emperor upon the throne of France as the inheritor of the glories of the Napoleonic legend. A certain grace of style which Norvins undoubtedly possessed made the book readable at the time of its publication, but now that the perspective of time has placed the career of Napoleon in a different